

Message Text

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46

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CU-02 BIB-01 SSO-00

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3578

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

USMISSION NATO

USUN NEW YORK 1850

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4292

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: CYPRIOT REPRESENTATION

REF: GENEVA 4285

1. FULL TEXT OF DENKTASH LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD, WITH
TEXTS OF COVERING NOTE AND ATTACHMENT, FOLLOWS (NUMBERING
ADDED FOR CONVENIENCE):

2. BEGIN TEXT OF COVERING NOTE:

TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS

MINISTRY OF STATE

DATE: 21ST MAY, 1975

MONSIEUR A.W. SHERER, JR.

AMBASSADEUR

RESIDENCE DE FRANCE

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4, AVE. DE FRANCE

1202 GENEVA

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

(1) I HAVE THE HONOUR TO ENCLOSE HEREWITH FOR YOUR INFORMATION A COPY OF THE COMMUNICATION ADDRESSED BY HIS EXCELLENCY RAUF DENKTAS, PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS, TO HEADS OF STATE OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE REGARDING THE REPRESENTATION OF CYPRUS AT THE CONFERENCE CURRENTLY BEING HELD AT GENEVA.

(2) PLEASE ACCEPT, YOUR EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

(VEDAT CELIK)

MINISTER OF STATE

TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS

2. BEGIN TEXT OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT FORD:

TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

NICOSIA

15TH MAY 1975

HIS EXCELLENCY

MR. GERALD FORD

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

(1) ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE WHICH IS CURRENTLY BEING HELD IN GENEVA, AND IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBILITY OF ITS CULMINATION IN A SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO BE ATTENDED BY

HEADS OF STATE OF

MEMBER COUNTRIES, I THOUGHT THAT IT WAS INCUMBENT UPON ME,

AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS,

TO ADDRESS THIS COMMUNICATION TO YOUR EXCELLENCY AND TO

ACQUAINT YOU WITH OUR VIEWS ON THE QUESTION OF THE REPRESENTATION OF CYPRUS.

(2) IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO INFORM YOUR

EXCELLENCY THAT THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS WAS ESTABLISHED IN

1960 AS A BI-COMMUNAL STATE IN THE FORM OF A FUNCTIONAL

FEDERATION BY THE TURKISH AND GREEK COMMUNITIES OF THE ISLAND.

THE BI-COMMUNAL INDEPENDENT STATE SO CREATED WAS, HOWEVER,

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REGARDED AND TREATED BY ARCHBISHIP MAKARIOS AND THE GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP NOT AS AN END IN ITSELF BUT AS A MEANS TO AN END, NAMELY ENOSIS (UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE). IN PURSUANCE OF THEIR ULTIMATE GOAL OF ENOSIS THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, DID ALL IN THEIR POWER TO UNDERMINE THE NEWLY ESTABLISHED REPUBLIC AND RESORTED TO ARMED VIOLENCE AGAINST THE TURKISH COMMUNITY SINCE DECEMBER, 1963. THE DETERMINATION OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE

TO UNITE CYPRUS WITH GREECE, AT ALL COSTS, CULMINATED IN THE COUP D'ETAT OF 15TH JULY, 1974 UPON WHICH TURKEY HAD TO INTERVENE, IN EXERCISE OF HER TREATY RIGHTS, IN ORDER TO SAVE THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY FROM AN IMMINENT DANGER OF TOTAL OR PARTIAL ANNIHILATION AND TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS. FOR A MORE DETAILED BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, I WOULD LIKE TO REFER YOUR EXCELLENCY TO THE ATTACHED NOTE.

(3) IT WILL BE OBSERVED FROM THIS NOTE THAT HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE RESISTANCE OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY SINCE DECEMBER, 1963, AT THE COST OF MANY LIVES AND MUCH SUFFERING, CYPRUS WOULD HAVE BEEN ANNEXED TO GREECE THEREBY LOSING ITS INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY LONG AGO. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS REGRETTABLE THAT ALTHOUGH CYPRUS OWES ITS EXISTENCE AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE AND THEREFORE ITS PARTICIPATION AS A MEMBER AT THE ABOVE CONFERENCE TO THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, THIS COMMUNITY HAS UNFORTUNATELY BEEN, AS HITHRTO, TOTALLY IGNORED AND TREATED AS IF IT DID NOT EXIST. IT WAS ONLY THROUGH TURKEY THAT THE TURKISH COMMUNITY WAS KEPT INFORMED ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CONFERENCE.

(4) WE HAVE FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE EVOLUTION OF DETENTE; AND AS THE TURKISH WING OF THE STATE OF CYPRUS WE WHOLEHEARTEDLY WISHED THAT CYPRUS COULD HAVE ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO IT. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT COUNTRIES IN WHICH INTERNAL CONFLICTS CONTINUE TO EXIST CANNOT IN EFFECT CONTRIBUTE TO SUCH A DETENTE BEFORE ENSURING PEACE WITHIN THEIR OWN BOUNDARIES AND THAT ANY ATTEMPT ON THEIR PART TO DO SO WOULD BE NOTHING MORE THAN A MERE PRETENCE. IT WOULD ALSO BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE EFFORTS ACTIVELY BEING PURSUED AT THE PRESENT TO ACHIEVE A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT BASED ON EVOLUTION RESULTING FROM HISTORIC EXPERIENCE. WHILE THESE EFFORTS TO FIND A PERMANENT AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM ARE CONTINUING, THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ATTITUDE TO ACT ON BEHALF OF CYPRUS AS IF NO CHANGES HAD TAKEN PLACE RUNS COUNTER WITH THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION WHICH AT PRESENT EXISTS IN THE ISLAND, NAMELY, THE EXISTENCE OF TWO SEPARATE ADMINISTRATIONS (TURKISH AND GREEK) HAVING EXCLUSIVE JURISDICTION OVER THEIR RESPECTIVE REGIONS OF CYPRUS. NEVERTHELESS, WE, THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY, HAVE, IN SPITE OF THE DISADVANTAGES INVOLVED TO OURSELVES, REFRAINED FROM RAISING THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION OF CYPRUS DURING THE FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE DUE TO THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE THEME OF THE CONFERENCE AND TO OUR DESIRE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF DETENTE AND NOT TO PREOCCUPY THE CONFERENCE WITH THIS ISSUE. IT WILL BE APPRECIATED, HOWEVER, THAT IN VIEW OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE'S ABOVE ATTITUDE AND THE DEVELOPMENTS REFERRED TO ABOVE, THE QUESTION OF THE REPRESENTATION OF CYPRUS AT THE THIRD

SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE, IN WHICH THE RESULTS WILL BE RECORDED,
HAS BECOME
OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE AND
THEREFORE UNAVOIDABLE. IF CYPRUS IS TO BE REPRESENTED AT
THE THIRD SESSION BY THE GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION ALONE,
THIS WILL, IN OUR VIEW, RENDER THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE
UNSOND BECAUSE SUCH REPRESENTATION WILL BE ONE SIDED AND WILL
NOT REPRESENT THE WILL OF THE STATE AS A WHOLE. NOR WILL
SUCH RESULTS BE BINDING ON THE TURKISH COMMUNITY OR ITS
ADMINISTRATION. MOREOVER, IT WILL HAVE AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON
THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS WHICH WILL POSSIBLY BE TAKING PLACE
AT THE SAME TIME AS THE THIRD SESSION.

(5) IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I WOULD LIKE TO INVITE YOUR
EXCELLENCY'S ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

I) THE SOLUTION ENVISAGED BY THE TURKISH FEDERATED
STATE OF CYPRUS FOR THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IS IN
FULL CONFORMITY WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE PRINCIPLES
ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE. WE ARE SEEKING THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER FOR THE
REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS WHICH WILL ENABLE THE TWO
COMMUNITIES TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE UNDER EQUAL
CONDITIONS AND FREE FROM DISCRIMINATION.
II) THE FACT THAT TWO NATIONAL COMMUNITIES EXIST
AND HAVE ALWAYS EXISTED IN CYPRUS ON THE BASIS
OF EQUALITY HAS BEEN UNEQUIVOCALLY RECOGNIZED
BY THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND
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THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

III) THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS IS
PARTICULARLY DESIROUS THAT THE FUTURE REPUBLIC
OF CYPRUS UNDER ITS NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER
SHOULD FOLLOW A NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN POLICY.

(6) I BELIEVE THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL
ORDER WHICH WILL ENABLE THE TWO COMMUNITIES TO LIVE IN PEACE
AND HARMONY UNDER CONDITIONS OF EQUALITY WILL GIVE CYPRUS THE
OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO DETENTE.

(7) IN VIEW OF THE FOREGOING AND THE FACT THAT THERE IS
NOT, AS YET, A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN CYPRUS REPRESENTATIVE
OF BOTH COMMUNITIES, I TRUST THAT THE MEMBER COUNTRIES WILL
DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO ENSURE THAT CYPRUS IS REPRESENTED
AT THE THIRD SESSION THROUGH REPRESENTATIVES FROM BOTH

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CU-02 SSO-00 BIB-01

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O R 091358Z JUN 75

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3579

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NOCOSIA

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CONSTITUENT COMMUNITIES BY A SPECAIL ARRANGEMENT TO BE
AGREED UPON BETWEEN THEM.

(8) PLEASE ACCEPT, YOUR EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES
OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

RAUL R. DENKTAS)

PRESIDENT

TURKISH FEDERATED STATE

OF CYPRUS

NOTE

(1) AS IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE THE SERIES OF EVENTS WHICH
FINALLY LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS
BY THE ZURICH AND LONDON AGREEMENTS ORIGINATED IN THE YEAR
OF 1955 WHEN THE GREEK CYPRIOT UNDERGROUND TERRORIST
ORGANIZATION, EOKA, INSTIGATED AND MATERIALLY AND ACTIVELY
SUPPORTED BY GREECE, EMBARKED UPON A CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL
MURDER AND VIOLENCE WITH THE SOLE OBJECT OF UNITING THE
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ISLAND WITH GREECE. THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, WHICH WANTED
AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS AND WAS AGAINST THE RECOLONIZATION

OF CYPRUS UNDER GREECE, FIRMLY RESISTED THE MOVEMENT, AND DURING THIS CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE BY EOKA NO LESS THAN 35 TURKISH VILLAGES WERE ATTACKED, HUNDREDS OF TURKS MURDERED AND THOUSANDS OF TURKS BECAME HOMELESS REFUGEES.

(2) THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS WAS CO-FOUNDED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES AS A BI-COMMUNAL STATE ON A PARTNERSHIP BASIS. HOWEVER, WHEREAS THE TURKISH COMMUNITY ACCEPTED THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC AS AN END IN ITSELF AND HONESTLY AND WHOLEHEARTEDLY WORKED TO MAKE IT A SUCCESS, THE GREEK COMMUNITY CONSIDERED IT MERELY AS A FIRST STEP ON THE PATH WHICH MUST ULTIMATELY LEAD TO ENOSIS (UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE). IN PURSUANCE OF THEIR GOAL OF ENOSIS THE GREEK CYPRIOTS PREPARED THE INFAMOUS PLAN OF ACTION CALLED THE "AKRIATAS PLAN" WHEREBY THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS WOULD BE DISSOLVED IN PREDETERMINED STAGES AND METHODS IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THE UNION OF CYPRUS WITH GREECE.

(3) THE CYPRUS CRISIS OF 1963-64 WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH AND THE DIRECT OUTCOME OF THE AKRITAS PLAN: ON 21ST DECEMBER 1963 THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, IN COLLUSION WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS, LAUNCHED AN ALL OUT ATTACK ON THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, THE AIM OF WHICH WAS TO ANNIHILATE THE TURKS BY WIDESPREAD ATTACKS ON DEFENCELESS TURKISH VILLAGES DISPERSED THROUGHOUT THE ISLAND TO BE CARRIED OUT WITH LIGHTNING SPEED, WHILE ACCUSING THEM OF REBELLING AGAINST THE STATE AND THUS BRINGING THE WHOLE OF THE ISLAND UNDER ABSOLUTE RULE OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AS A PRELUDE TO ENOSIS. AS A RESULT OF THIS GREEK ONSLAUGHT UNARMED TURKS IN THEIR HUNDREDS, INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN, WERE RUTHLESSLY KILLED AND OVER 24,000 BECAME HOMELESS REFUGEES; WHILE 103 TURKISH VILLAGES WERE COMPLETELY OR PARTIALLY DESTROYED, RANSACKED AND LOOTED (C.F. PARA 180 OF THE U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPORT S/5950 OF 10 SEP 1964).

(4) DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1964 AND 1967 CYPRUS WAS VIRTUALLY UNDER THE OCCUPATION OF GREECE THROUGH ITS 20,000 TROOPS AND OFFICERS IN THE GREEK CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD. THE TURKISH COMMUNITY WAS ARBITRARILY OUSTED FROM THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS TOTALLY HELLENIZED AND SUBJECT TO A STRICT ECONOMIC BLOCKADE IN ORDER TO BREAK DOWN THEIR RESISTANCE TO ENOSIS. HOWEVER, THE TURKISH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COMMUNITY PUT UP A BRAVE STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL ODDS, IN ORDER TO SAVE ITSELF FROM ANNIHILATION AND TO PRESERVE THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE ISLAND. NEVERTHELESS, IN 1967 A SECOND MAJOR ATTACK WAS LAUNCHED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, WITH THE SUPPORT OF GREECE, AGAINST THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, AGAIN WITH THE OBJECT OF ACHIEVING THEIR GOAL OF ENOSIS.

(5) THE 1967 CRISIS SUBSIDED AS A RESULT OF TURKEY'S WARNING TO INTERVENE AND THE UNDERTAKING BY GREECE TO WITHDRAW

HER FORCES FROM CYPRUS PAVED THE WAY FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, IT BECAME APPARENT DURING THESE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH CONTINUED FROM 1968 TO 1974, THAT THE GREEK SIDE WOULD NOT AGREE TO A SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD NOT LEAVE THE DOOR OPEN TO ENOSIS. IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THEY WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO ACHIEVE ENOSIS AT WILL, THE GREEK CYPRIOTS INSISTED ON A SETTLEMENT UNDER WHICH THE TURKISH COMMUNITY WOULD BE TREATED AS A MERE MINORITY GROUP AND DEPRIVED OF ALL THE RIGHTS GRANTED TO IT BY THE LONDON AND ZURICH AGREEMENTS. SUCH A SETTLEMENT WAS OBVIOUSLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, WHO HAD IN FACT CO-FOUNDED THE CYPRUS REPUBLIC.

6) WHILE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WERE IN PROGRESS, THE MAKARIOS ADMINISTRATION, FULLY SUPPORTED BY THE GREEK JUNTA WHICH HAD FAILED TO WITHDRAW ALL ITS TROOPS FROM CYPRUS DESPITE THE ABOVE-MENTIONED UNDERTAKING, WAS ENGAGED IN AN ARMS RACE. HUGE QUANTITIES OF HEAVY ARMS AND AMMUNITION WERE IMPORTED FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD TURNING CYPRUS INTO AN ARSENAL. GRIVAS, THE LEADER OF EOKA TERRORIST MOVEMENT SINCE 1955, WAS BROUGHT BACK TO CYPRUS TO WAGE WAR AGAIN FOR ENOSIS. HE WAS SUPPORTED BY OFFICERS SPECIALLY SENT TO CYPRUS BY THE GREEK JUNTA. IT WAS THESE OFFICERS HEADING A STRONG GREEK AND GREEK CYPRIOT MILITARY FORCE (THE SO CALLED "NATIONAL GUARD") IN CYPRUS THAT STAGED THE COUP D'ETAT OF 15TH JULY. THE COUP RESULTED IN SAMPSON'S (A WELL KNOWN EOKA TERRORIST AND MURDERER) BECOMING THE SO CALLED "PRESIDENT" OF THE REPUBLIC, AND STEPS WERE ABOUT TO BE TAKEN BY THE ORGANIZERS OF THE COUP IN ORDER TO DECLARE ENOSIS. THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN THE DEATH-BLOW TO THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS WHICH HAD BEEN SO BRAVELY DEFENDED BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY DURING THE PRECEDING ELEVEN YEARS. IT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WAS THE TIMELY INTERVENTION OF TURKEY ON 20TH JULY, THAT FORSTALLED THE DECLARATION OF ENOSIS AND ELIMINATED THE DANGER OF THE TOTAL ANNIHILATION OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY.

(7) THE TURKISH INTERVENTION WAS CARRIED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF TURKEY UNDER THE TREATY OF GUARANTEE. THE TURKISH PEACE FORCE WAS SENT TO THE ISLAND, NOT AS AN INVASION OR OCCUPATION FORCE, BUT SOLELY WITH THE OBJECT OF RE-ESTABLISHING ORDER. AT THE SAME TIME IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT TURKEY SHOULD TAKE ACTION IN ORDER TO SAVE THE TURKISH COMMUNITY WHICH WAS IN GRAVE DANGER OF BEING ANNIHILATED BY THE GREEK AND GREEK CYPRIOT ARMED ELEMENTS. (EXISTENCE OF PLANS FOR THE ANNIHILATION OF TURKS IN CYPRUS HAS RECENTLY BEEN CONFIRMED BY MR. AVEROF, THE PRESENT GREEK MINISTER OF DEFENCE.)

(8) THE TURKISH VIEWS ON CYPRUS ARE SIMPLE. THEY ENVISAGE AN INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED AND SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

BASED ON A BI-REGIONAL FEDERATION. IN A COUNTRY COMPOSED
OF TWO NATIONAL COMMUNITIES, EACH WITH ITS DIFFERENT NATIONAL,
CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES AND ASPIRATIONS, A BI-
REGIONAL FEDERATION IS THE ONLY SENSIBLE AND REALISTIC
SOLUTION. THE EVENTS AND THE BITTER EXPERIENCE OF THE
PAST TWENTY YEARS HAVE SHOWN THAT THIS IS THE MOST
EFFECTIVE WAY OF ENSURING SCURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY
FOR THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS AS A WHOLE. IT IS ALSO THE
ONLY WAY OPEN FOR THE TWO COMMUNITIES TO DEVELOP AND
PROSPER ECONOMICALLY SIDE BY SIDE FREE FROM THREATS,
PRESSURES OR DISCRIMINATION. IN LINE WITH THIS POLICY,
THE AUTONOMOUS TURKISH CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION WAS RESTRUCTURED
AS THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE TO CONSTITUTE THE
TURKISH WING OF THE FUTURE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS.
DALE

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